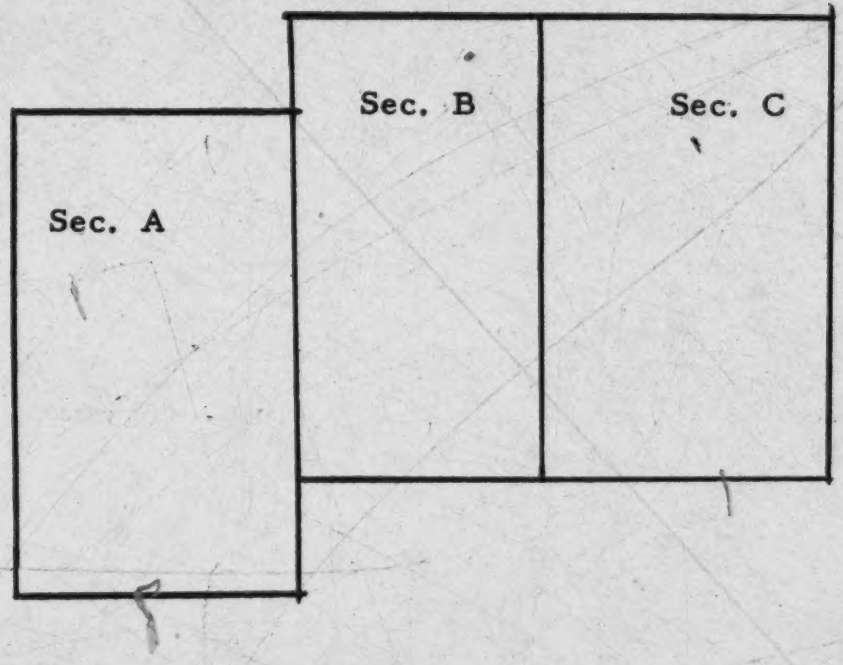
1:Nimuendaju
102, 131, 133, 361, 103

SQ20 Tucuna

Chart of Position of Map on Pp. 5, 6, and 7



1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) . 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

The Solimões River

KEY TO MAP

131.
133
103.
361
102

Rivers and Streams

R42 akiti'
R35 aru-pano
R37 bararí'
R47 Cabeceira do Taxy
R48 Cano do Taxy
R29 čau/matš'
R31 daurš-ki
R44 doča'nei°
R17 dyo'ïaa
R26 dyo'naka
R33 š/ti
R46 š/tiá-ki
R19 šwarš
R52 Igarapé Açú
R16 Ig. Agrã
R3 Ig. Berury
R15 Ig. Caldeirão
R32 Ig. Calixto
R7 Ig. Capaceta
R10 Ig. Capitán
R11 Ig. Caraná
R45 Ig. da Rita
R12 Ig. Irinéu
R53 Ig. Manacá
R2 Ig. Mariaassú
R8 Ig. Nuáka
R43 Ig. Panapaná
R14 Ig. Piranha
R6 Ig. Preto (1)
R41 Ig. Preto (2)
R4 Ig. São Antonio
R9 Ig. São Jorge
R40 Ig. São Paulo
R13 Ig. Surubim
R51 Ig. Tauapé
R28 kuai°-ti
R38 kwaïča'ña-ti
R39 Mãia-ti
R22 Mã-ti
R24 Mbãi
R27 mẽ'kira°
R34 mẽ'-para
R36 na°/ne'neã
R21 napa-ti
R23 pačare'e
R49 Paraná Apára
R50 Paraná das Panellas
R1 Rio Javary
R5 Rio Tacana
R30 taučini-ki
R25 tau-i
R18 tawe'šã
R20 tino-ti

Tukuna Dwellings

T14 Augusto Macario
T4 Ant° Cassimiro
T8 Calixto
T9 Cap. Antonio
T2 Cap. Felix
T12 Custodio
T11 Doró
T5 Julião
T1 J. Tauari
T12 Nino
T10 ñora'n
T3 Ponciano
T6 Surára (tapera)
T7 taivegï'ne

Towns and Settlements

S11 Açacaio
S6 Aljubarata
S16 A. Ramiro
S9 Belém
S5 Capaceta
S3 J. Mendes
S14 Laureano Müller
S8 Marupiára
S13 M. Geissler
S18 Mission
S4 Moysés
S10 Palmares
S15 Paraizo
S1 Ramon Castillo
S12 St° Cruz
S2 Tabatinga
S7 Tupy
S17 V° Velha

Lakes

L1 Cajary
L2 Curaná
L3 Lago das Panellas

Islands

I6 Ilha Cajary
I5 Ilha Capiahy
I7 Ilha Cariny
I4 Ilha Guaribas
I1 Ilha Sururuá
I3 Ilha Tauará
I2 Ilha Tubarões

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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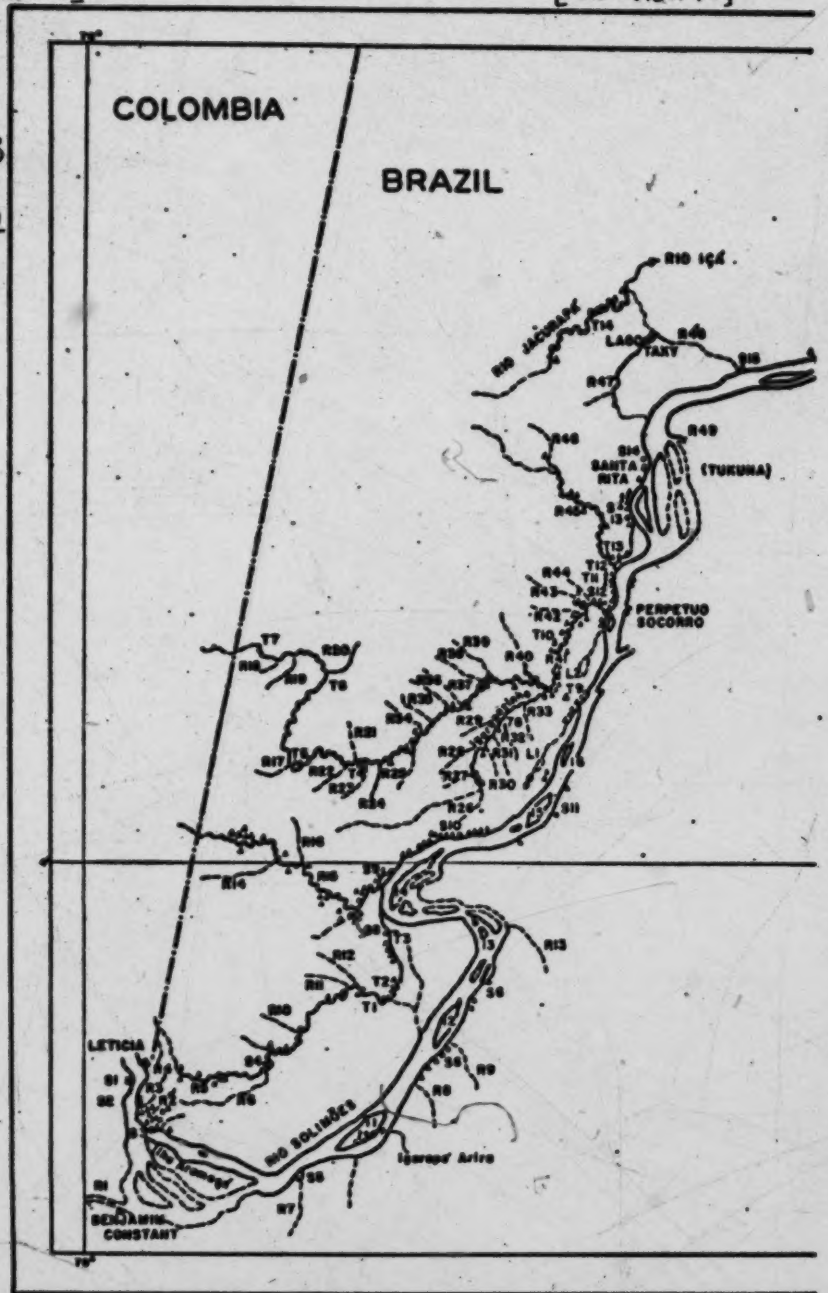
[P.5] [Section A]

131
133
103
●361
102

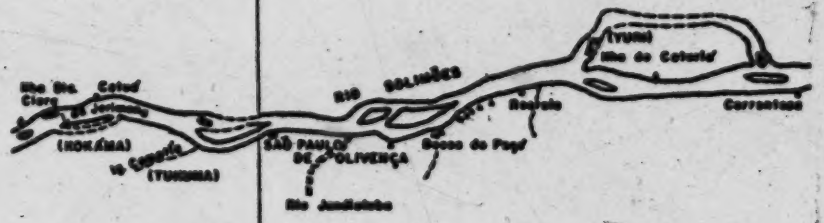


The Solimões River
(For scale and eastern section, see following pages.)

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

131
133
103
36
102

[Section B]



THE SOLIMÕES RIVER
(LETICIA TO TONANTINS)

Surveyed by
CURT NIMUENDAJÚ
1941

0 5 10 20 30 40 KM.

Scale 1:40,000

▲ Tukuna dwellings
● Kokáma dwellings
▪ Kapúchu dwellings

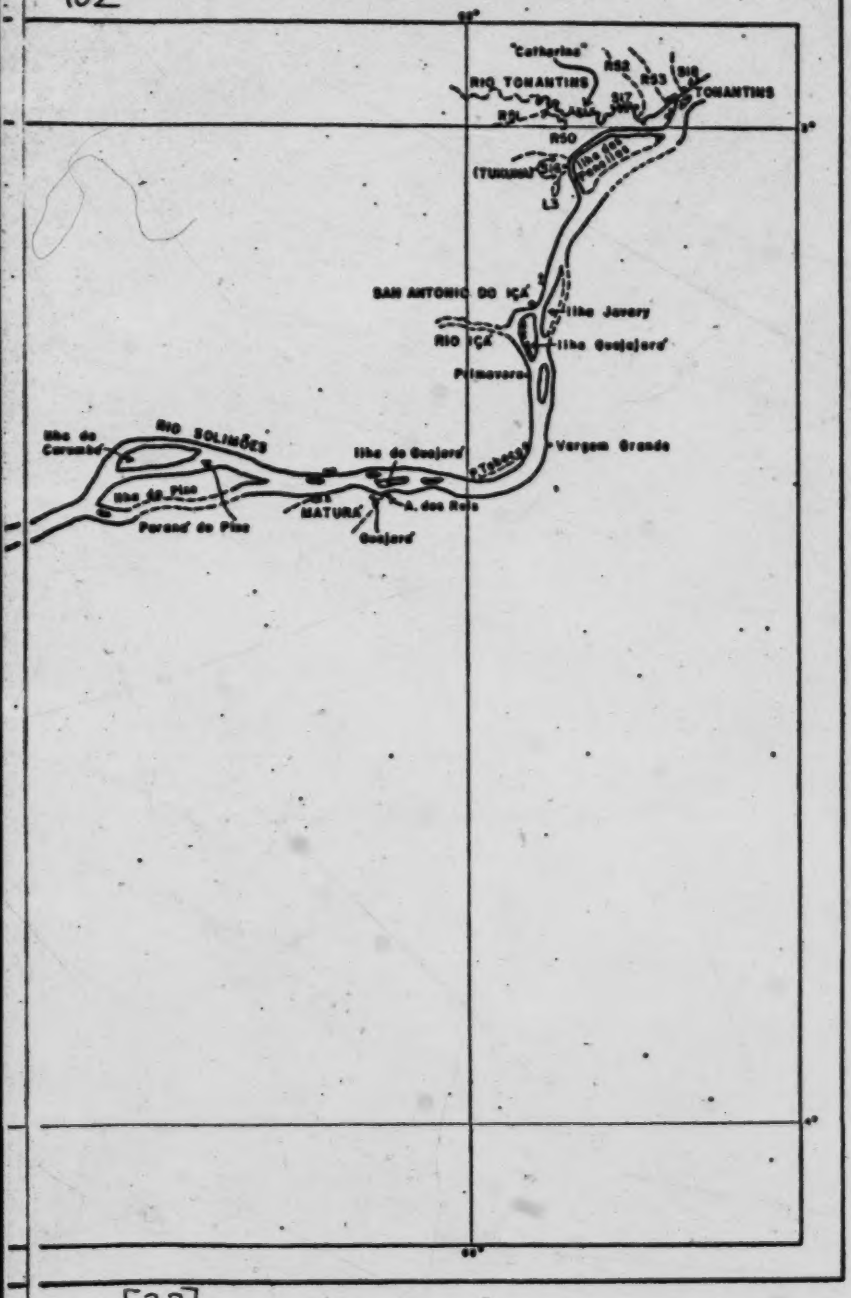
[P. 6]

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

131
133
103
361
102

[Section C]



[P.7]

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

Simultaneously, the Kokáma Indians of the lower Ucayali region began to emigrate to the Brazilian Solimões, where they established themselves among the Tukuna, though in separate localities. Their most important period of settlement was in the middle of the nineteenth century at Jurupary-tapera (Santa Cruz) on the left bank of the Solimões, between the mouth of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and that of the Igarapé da Rita.

Today some two thousand of these Indians dwell in Brazil, along the banks and islands of the Solimões from the vicinity of São Paulo de Olivença to the Auatí-paraná. They live in peace with the Tukuna but avoid contact and do not meddle with them. The cultural influence of the Kokáma on the Tukuna has been practically nil.

From 1864 to 1870 Brazil was at war with Paraguay. Even today the Tukuna guard the traditions of the persecutions which they suffered from the "Varaváyu"; however, they designate by this name not the Paraguayans but the Brazilian recruiting troops, to whom they offered armed resistance. The few Tukuna recruits who returned brought back with them a new epidemic of smallpox, which caused havoc in the tribe.

In 1871 there was founded within the bounds of Caldeirão, at a spot immediately below the mouth of the igarapé of this name (today Belém), a mission which already had a nucleus of Tukuna Indians and which eventually possessed a chapel, 30 houses, and 171 inhabitants. By 1877, however, this establishment was in complete ruin.

In the last two decades of the past century the rubber-gathering industry began its extraordinary development throughout the entire Amazon region. It was for the Tukuna a sad era of exploitation, slavery, and abasement under the heel of greedy *patrões*, ignorant men but superior in force, which lasted for almost forty years; to this day they have not yet recovered from the effects, although the last of these squirearchs has long since disappeared.

However, even today there are some individuals, living at the mouths of the igarapés inhabited by the Tukuna, who willfully desire to hold the Indians subject to their selfish patronage. It is to be hoped that the Indian Welfare Service,* which was established in the region in 1942, will put an end to these anachronistic views.

There are no written records of the total number of Tukuna for any period of the past, but very conservatively I estimate their present number in Brazilian territory at more than 2,000, their total number as 3,000; they are therefore one of the most numerous tribes in Brazil.

Scientific Exploration

Before 1928 no one had studied the Tukuna in their primitive settlements. One or another traveler had been present occasionally at some episode of their celebrations, collected from the Neobrazilians of the area some not always accurate information, or had some Indian of the tribe for a paddler; but it appears that no one had spent even a day among them. The first reports, which many other writers utilized for more than a century, we owe to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha and to Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, who were briefly in the Tukuna country

* Serviço de Proteção aos Indios.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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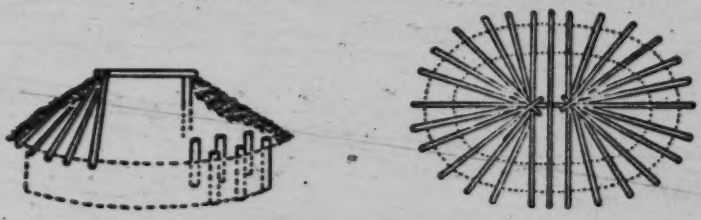
II. HABITATION

[361] [592] [177] The original Tukuna habitation was a large, isolated, communal dwelling, *maloca*, occupied by more than one family. All settlements made up of a number of houses together, like Tabatinga, São José do Javary, and Caldeirão, owe their origin to Neobrazilian initiative and were so contrary to tribal custom that the complaint was always heard that the Tukuna did not want to be herded together but would spread out again through the jungle.

[641] [591] I have often been told by the Indians themselves that in such or such a place there was once a great maloca of this or that clan. I do not know how to interpret this statement, for though the clans of the Tukuna are patrilineal, the family is more matrilocal than patrilocal, so that only in very special circumstances would all the men of one maloca belong to the same clan. However, the clan tẽ'ma (Burity)—if, as tradition says, its members once spoke a language different from that of the other clans—might have been collectively localized.

342



a *b*

Fig. 1. Maloca or communal dwelling. *a*. Sketch showing roof and interior construction. *b*. Plan of rafters.

Houses

These houses were apparently circular; actually, however, there was always a small, rectangular central section, with a semicircular roof bay at each end (fig. 1). The rafters of this rectangular section, which formerly was only some two or three meters long, rested on a short ridgepole supported by pillars or posts. At each end, a little below the ridgepole and in the angles formed by the two outer pairs of rafters, there was a small horizontal crossbeam fastened to the rafters, and upon this rested the rafters of the roof bay (fig. 1, *b*).

Two series of vertical supports divided the interior into two concentric parts, the inner series—at least, the highest and strongest—being of *acapú* wood. The [824] house was covered with *carana* thatching, the stems being intertwined and attached to a long lath of *paxiuba*[1] wood. The tips of the leaves were split and were also intertwined. The laths with the thatching attached were tied horizontally on the rafters with strips of the inner bark. For the first three or four years, at least, this covering was an absolutely impermeable protection from the tropical rains.

The walls, more or less the height of a man, were made of small poles of paxiuba wood, or of the same material as the roof. In a few houses the interstices were filled

[1] An exceedingly tough Amazonian palm (*Socratea exorrhiza*), the roots of which are so thorny that they are used to scrape manioc roots.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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mate with them I was always treated courteously. For my canoe they offered more paddlers than I needed. I used to leave my trunks open when I temporarily left the house where I was a guest, the baggage containing articles coveted by the Indians. They would rummage through my gear to the very bottom and knew better than I what each piece contained, but during all this long period of living among them, they robbed me of—two cigarettes! This was the experience likewise of the botanist Ricardo Fróes, who, as has been said, also lived among them in various localities for several months in 1941.

There are, therefore, certain persons toward whom the Tukuna feel a moral obligation, but for this they must be convinced that the person with whom they are dealing is incapable of lying to them or exploiting them, a conviction which presupposes, on the part of the strangers, a frank and friendly attitude toward the native culture.

However, with their own tribesmen they do not always consider similar conduct absolutely obligatory, so that one finds examples of notorious hostility, ill will, and even dishonesty. The Tukuna were exemplary in their honesty with Ricardo Fróes and myself, but I was present once at a feast when an Indian ripped open with his knife another man's sack of clothes, deliberately stealing them; and there are other confirmed thefts from houses during the Indian owners' absence.

Actually, under normal conditions the Tukuna are calm and pacific, but some of them become insolent and dangerous when drunk. Frequently, at their drinking bouts at least one major quarrel occurs, and often there are injuries and fatalities. At first I took these scenes only for the end products of old hatreds and resentments, thinking that all these offenses and crimes had some serious motive, more or less unknown, which the Indians concealed. But I was finally convinced that this was not so. The Indians describe these affairs without constraint and in detail, but when one inquires the reason for the disorder, "They fight because they want to" is the only explanation that one obtains, or "So-and-so always fights when he is drunk"; the event is thus sufficiently explained.

Strangely enough, a quarrel of this sort never broke out in my presence, though I attended a good number of their drinking bouts. On one occasion an Indian armed himself with a machete to attack another, but my fixing my eyes upon him with the natural interest that the situation deserved was enough to make him pass the weapon to the other and draw off. Accordingly, I believe that if at these affairs a person were present who exercised some moral authority, all such quarrels could be nipped in the bud. The trouble is, that among all these Tukuna there is apparently no one whose authority they will recognize. Their individualism, concretely expressed in their habit of living in isolated houses, and in the absence of any bond except the blood tie, will not tolerate the intervention of a chief in their outbursts of anger or in their personal problems.

I know of no other tribe in which one may observe such sudden transports of fury and examples of lack of self-control as occur now and then among the Tukuna. From childhood they differ from other Indians in this respect. They quarrel like civilized children, and in their houses I have heard almost as much bellowing from enraged youngsters as in Neobrazilian homes. I have observed little brothers, in childish pranks, chasing each other with a machete or a firebrand. One day a little

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
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which the village is built extends on one side nearly a mile into the forest, but on the other side the descent into the lowland begins close to the streets; the hill sloping abruptly towards a boggy meadow surrounded by woods, through which a narrow winding path continues the slope down to a cool shady glen, with a brook of icy-cold water flowing at the bottom. At mid-day the vertical sun penetrates into the gloomy depths of this romantic spot, lighting up the leafy banks of the rivulet and its clean sandy margins, where numbers of scarlet, green, and black tanagers and brightly-coloured butterflies sport about in the stray beams. Sparkling brooks, large and small, traverse the glorious forest in almost every direction, and one is constantly meeting, whilst rambling through the thickets, with trickling rills and bubbling springs, so well provided is the country with moisture. Some of the rivulets flow over a sandy and pebbly bed, and the banks of all are clothed with the most magnificent vegetation conceivable. I had the almost daily habit, in my solitary walks, of resting on the clean banks of these swift-flowing streams, and bathing for an hour at a time in their bracing waters; hours which now remain amongst my most pleasant memories. The broad forest roads 361 continue, as I was told, a distance of several days' journey into the interior, which is peopled by Tucúnas and other Indians, living in scattered houses and villages nearly in their primitive state, the nearest village lying about six miles from St. Paulo. The banks of all [342] the streams are dotted with palm-thatched dwellings of Tucúnas, all half buried in the leafy wilderness, the scattered families having chosen the coolest and shadiest nooks for their abodes.

I frequently heard in the neighbourhood of these huts the "realejo" 136 or organ bird (Cyphorhinus cantans), the most remarkable songster, by far, of the Amazonian forests. When its singular notes strike the ear for the first time the impression cannot be resisted that they are produced by a human voice. Some musical boy must be gathering fruit in the thickets, and is singing a few notes to cheer himself. The tones become more fluty and plaintive; they are now those of a flageolet, and notwithstanding the utter impossibility of the thing, one is for the moment convinced that somebody is playing that instrument. No bird is to be seen, however closely the surrounding trees and bushes may be scanned, and yet the voice seems to come from the thicket close to one's ears. The ending of the song is rather disappointing. It begins with a few very slow and mellow notes, following each other like the commencement of an air; one listens expecting to hear a complete strain, but an abrupt pause occurs, and then the song breaks down, finishing with a number of clicking unmusical sounds like a piping barrel organ out of wind and tune. I never heard the bird on the Lower Amazons, and very rarely heard it even at Ega; it is the only songster which makes an impression on the natives, who sometimes rest their paddles whilst travelling in their small canoes along the shady by-streams, as if struck by the mysterious sounds.

171 The Tucúna Indians are a tribe resembling much the Shumánas,
Passés, Jurís, and Mauhés in their physical appearance and customs.
181 They lead, like those tribes, a settled agricultural life, each horde obeying